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The Fishing Industry of the Gilyaks in the Village of Kul /Morskoi promysel gilâkov derevni Kul'/

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121 In 1931 I was sent to the Amur Gilyaks for the purpose of studying their dialect and of collecting materials for an ABC book. I was able to devote some of my time to the study of problems in the field of ethnography, such as: the history of the Gilyak clans, land property of the clans, interclan relations, the fishing industry, etc. In the following survey I put before the reader the material gathered in the course of this work and pertaining to the fishing industry of the Gilyaks in the village of Kul.

225 At the first signs of spring, beginning with the month of
782 qar-lo (crow month') (1), the Gilyaks of Kul go seal-hunting.

1. Corresponds approximately to the end of February-beginning of March.

They get out hooks and replace the old strings on them with new ones. Then they perform a religious-magical ceremony which consists in exposing the hooks to the smoke of spruce and of a plant locally known as (t'ɔkr) bogulnik and set out on sleighs pulled by dogs to the tremendous ice fields of the sea of Okhotsk. On arrival, the Gilyak hunter lets a kuti-ŋəŋ-gan
225 (a dog seeking holes') search for seal air-holes. The Gilyak
411 lowers his hooks into each of the holes found by the dog. The hooks are fastened to a stick put across the air-hole. When the seal wants to breathe, it sticks out its head. The hooks in the air-hole hinder the seal, and when the seal wants to submerge, one or two hooks are thrust into its body. The hooks of the tackle kitə (2) which go into the implements for hunting

2. Tackle for seal-hunting in the summer. The main part of this tackle is a large number of sharp hooks.

seals in air-holes are so sharp that they pierce the body at the slightest resistance. On the following day the Gilyak returns to the same place. He looks to see if a seal caught
225 on his hooks. The Gilyak first pulls the captured seal through
411 the air-hole and then kills it by hitting it over the head with a
531 striker specially made for the killing of seals. This striker called to-r-tas (from to-r 'head', za-d 'hit', a suffix pertaining to the implement used in the action), is made of a bough of some strong tree. The bough is cut off together with a piece of stem at its base which is then rounded. At the lower end of the handle of this peculiar hammer is a carving which represents the snout of a seal.

225 For some time after the seal-hunt at the air-holes, when
782 the broken ice recedes from the shore, the Gilyaks get out in
252 boats and "feed the sea" out of muurs ('scoops for scooping water of the boat'), pieces of jelly called [79] mos, (1) porridge

1. Jelly is prepared by grinding a mixture of boiled skins of Siberian salmon, seal fat and water. As soon as the grinding is done, a lot of berries are added to the jelly and it is then left on the outside to cool.

and a dried plant ayṣ, called puchka by the local Russians. Sometimes the feeding is followed by a seal-hunt on nearby floes.

After the first "feeding", pilgur tol-fənd ('major feeding of the sea,' literally, 'major throwing into the water') is arranged. Only after this "feeding" do the hunters put out to sea on a hunt.

225 For the "major feeding" women prepare two kinds of jelly-
782 mos and muvi --cook rice or millet porridge, prepare dried
776 sarana, peas, berries, tobacco, and dried stalks of puchka
825 (ayṣ). The Gilyaks believe that if the food for the dogs is not cooked--and they must be fed before daybreak-- the dogs will eat the sea offering and the latter will not reach its place of destination. To prevent this from happening, the Gilyaks specially feed the dogs of the sea spirits (according to the beliefs of the Gilyaks, spirits are human beings like themselves and have their own dogs.) For this purpose they wind puchka on fish-tail bones (mamγe) which they then throw into the sea before offering to the spirits. The Gilyaks believe that the dogs of the spirits will eat the fish bones and, having had their fill, will not touch the refreshments meant for their masters.

782 When all gifts are ready, a hunter carries them to the sea.
225 Women are not present at sea offerings. On reaching the shore the Gilyak sticks two small twigs in one place, at the very edge of the water; one twig is a keγla-ŋks twig and the other is a qoskəŋks ('rowen twig'). A small distance away from these he sticks another pair of small twigs at the edge of the water. These peculiar gates are called tayr. The offering is
782 thrown into the sea through the tayr. First to be emptied are
225 the uiγ-ŋir, (2) that is, troughs from which drowned men are
766
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2. Uiγ-ŋir is made in memory of a man drowned in the sea. The first uiγ-ŋir "should be lost" quickly-as the Gilyaks put it. Then they make a second one which

782 they keep for a long time. When some one is
225 drowned the Gilyaks arrange a boat race, fight, and
766 run. In this connection I wish to note that in the
415 valleys Chayvo, on the Okhotsk shore of the Sakhalin peninsula, where I studied the cult of drowned men in great detail, no felicitations are allowed when a man is drowned.

fed. (Mos for these troughs is prepared by men). Next, mos is emptied out of the tol-'ir ('sea troughs') for which it is prepared, as in all other cases, by women. The offering completed, the troughs are turned around so that their "eyes" are directed to the houses instead of to the sea. (3) Next,

3. The troughs are in the form of animals. As I observed in the village of Chayvo, drops of mos meant to be "eyes" are put on one end of a tol-'ir, which apparently no longer has animal form.

pebbles, picked up from the shore are put into the troughs. At home these pebbles are thrown into the fireplace.

782 The Gilyaks regale their kinsmen with whatever is left
262 over from the offering and also eat themselves. Mos from the
225 ui - 'r is eaten only by old people. Women, children, and
561 young hunters must not taste this mos.

225 It is imperative that the "feeding of the sea" be completed
782 before the departure of the hunters. Once the hunters put out to sea, "feeding of the sea" is not allowed. At present this custom is not strictly observed, and if someone happens to be late, he "feeds the sea" late in the evening when it is reasonable to assume that the hunters at sea have gone ashore; although they sometimes spend the night on floes.

After the offering the Gilyaks begin preparations for putting out to sea on a hunt.

225 The essential prerequisite for seal-hunting at sea is a large
501 spacious, many-oared boat. Not every Gilyak is the owner of
476 [80] such a boat, suitable for long voyages. In the village Kul
422 there are no more than ten such boats. (1) In the seal-hunting
465

1. Unfortunately, it did not occur to me to count the number of these boats during my stay in the village Kul.

season the hunters unite in a collective which centers around

225 the boat; just as in the Siberian salmon fishing season they
501 unite in a collective which centers around the seine or the
476 zayezdka.
422
466 When the hunting season opens, the owner of such a boat starts collecting his companions. If the owner happens to have
225 a son-in-law (ore) in the village, he asks him to join him in
614 the hunt. In general, however, the owner of the boat selects
476 hunters regardless of clan membership.
466 Thus, for instance, the boat owner, Gilyak Norp of the clan
556 Tf=nu , was accompanied by hunters from the following clans: Otaq from clan Hutevi>, Potaq from clan Neo<afi<, >t from clan a ramla , Onkan from clan Lez-ran and Tesk from clan Tf=nu<.

A similar situation existed in collectives of hunters who went hunting in 1931.

The hunter collective centering around a boat is sometimes named after the owner of the boat. For instance, , 1 tun-munim ('one boat of Gylkhtyun') Xitkun-mu-nim (one boat of Xitkun).

225 The owner of the boat is the organizer and leader of the
556 collective of hunters grouped around him. Those who travel
476 with him are his subordinates. The leader of such a collective
466 of hunters is called pila< ('bolshak') (2) (from pila-d--'to

2. This is the name of the oldest in the clan and generally of any foreman in industry.

be big,' - suffix used in forming verbal nouns.)

225 The duties of pila are many. A pila is supposed:
476 1. To look over the boat, the rowlocks and, if need be,
502 to effect repairs.

2. To prepare and to take along a strap, harpoon tips (tamra), harpoons shafts (ve<l), his gun and the guns of his fellow-hunters, a kettle and a tea-pot (the hunters are obliged to take only cups with them), a tent, a sail, a tripod for the tea-pot and the kettle, and a compass. (3) Most of these items

3. Earlier they used to take to sea qafq-va ("friend-stone" or "friendly stone"). See the remark in the supplement to "Seal Hunting."

are the property of the pilaq.

225 3. To perform a number of religious-magical ceremonies
782 before setting out for the hunt as well as during the hunt. In
372 this capacity the pilaq exposes the boat to smoke, performs
476 mu-zi>:d and tqaj; ceremonies to be described in detail below.

225 During the hunt one must use the tinder box or the matches
782 of the pilaŋ to light a campfire. No hunter has the right to
372 light a camp fire using his own implements for this purpose;
476 he has to use the implements of the pilaŋ instead.

4. To tend the rudder and to observe the wind and ice-
225 floes. Young hunters with no experience in sea-faring rely
476 in this respect completely on the pilaŋ. One Gilyak told me:
502 "If the pilaŋ observes the wind and the floes, the young hunters are not worried."

5. To distribute the quarry among the hunters.

As can be seen, the pilaŋ performs the most responsible functions of a leader. I was told by the Gilyaks that if anything goes wrong during the hunt the pilaŋ is held responsible.

In the collective of hunters there must be not only organizers but also good oarsmen and a good shot.

225 [81] Everything in the boat is organized from the beginning
501 to the conclusion of the hunt. Each of the hunters occupies a
476 designated position at the oars. Each of the positions has its name.

The position at the first pair of oars, starting from the stern, is called ŋəťivd, the second - ťafpuf, the third - alχ-pid, the fourth - məγerq-pid ('sitting at the bow'), the fifth - lele mə-pid ('placed at the very bow'). There are boats with six and even seven pairs of oars.

225 Starting from the stern, the first position, ŋəťivd, is oc-
476 cupied by the oldest and strongest oarsman in the boat. At the
554 next pair of oars is a younger hunter. The position at the
561 oars at the bow is occupied by the youngest of the hunters in the boat.

When the ice fields are reached and the hunt begins, the position at the bow is occupied by the very best shot. Until that time he rows just like the others. As long as there are no seals in sight he rows like the others, occupying the position at the bow. Since he is the oldest of the hunters the pilaŋ often turns out to be a better shot than the young hunters. In such cases he turns the rudder over to someone in the boat and sits at the bow to fire at the seals. Thus, for instance, the Gilyak pilaŋ Norp sat during the hunt at the bow and fired at the seals. At the same time Gilak ət tended the rudder which the pilaŋ had turned over to him. The Gilyak pilaŋ Tavjun was at the bow during the hunt. According to his information he had killed by himself twenty seals and missed two. We do not wish to imply that of the whole collective of hunters only one person shoots at the seals. Two, three or four hunters do the shooting

225 but the better one among them sits at the bow. The hunters
476 must often get out on the floes for it is not always conven-
554 ient to get within shooting distance of the seals in a boat.
561

If there is an extra man in the boat, if, for instance, there
225 are five oarsmen, one pilaŋ and one other man, then the pilaŋ
476 -if he is the oldest man in the boat - sits at the stern without
561 doing anything, and his junior takes over the rudder. The
885 Gilyaks illustrated this point to me by the following example: if Xitkun and Kaun are among the hunters in the boat and if both are older than the rest of the hunters, than Xitkun, as the oldest, would sit at the stern and do nothing except for giving orders and Kaun, who is Xitkun's junior, would take over the rudder. If, on the other hand, Tujun, Xitkun, Pl-skuk and Kaun and younger hunters set out in a boat then Pl-skuk and Kaun, who are younger than Tujun and Xitkun, are at the oars, Xitkun takes over the rudder and Tujun, as the oldest of them all sits at the stern. It happens that the pila- is younger than the extra man in the boat. In that case the pilaŋ tends the rudder and the extra man sits at the stern. I personally know of such a case. Pila- Norp took along with him in the boat old man Onkan who sat at the stern and did nothing while Norp tended the rudder. When Norp was at the bow shooting at the seals and -t, to whom Norp had turned over the steering oar, tended the rudder, Onkan again sat at the stern. Jesting about his work Onkan said to me: "I was simply sitting without doing a thing, but I got my share." I found out from others that during the hunt he helped build the campfire and prepare food. He also seems to have helped with some other things; which is why he was taken along. Unfortunately, I was unable to clarify this point to any great extent. I simply had no time in which to do that. It seems that Onkan performed a number of functions which did not tax his strength and, in this manner, he made the rather heavy work of the hunters easier.

Incidentally, the facts given above illustrate with a sufficient degree of clarity the role of older people among the Gilyaks.

225 [82] As mentioned above the pila- performs mu-zi-d
789 and t aj.
774
751 Mu-zi-d is performed at the stern of the boat. Two short sticks, the thickness of a match are driven into the stern board. The distance between them is approximately two fingers. Then they tie a thin thread made of nettle fibres around the sticks. The Gilyaks usually perform zi-d on hands of children. They believe that a thread made of hair of a dog and nettle fibre and tied around a child's hand protects the child from illness. The fact that the Gilyaks perform

225 mu-ziγəd on the boat supports the assumption that at one
789 time or another the Gilyaks, it seems, regarded a boat as
774 a living thing. Mu-ziγəd on the boat serves, it seems, as a
751 means of guarding the boat against and protecting it from misfortunes.

782 Aside from mu-ziγəd, ŧŋaj is performed on the boat. Tŋaj
778 means 'image', 'figure,' 'picture.' With shavings (inau) of
532 a branch of rowan (qosk-γəks) the pilaŋ makes two figurines.
225 One of the figurines is placed at the prow of the boat and the
789 other - at the stern. I once saw such a figurine on the neck of a representation of the bird ugŋ, placed by the Gilyaks at the bow of the boat. The figurine placed at the bow has its face turned to the sea. We shall come back to these ŧŋaj elsewhere.

782 There is one other ceremony performed on the boat. Before
789 setting out on a hunt the Gilyaks expose the boat to smoke.
225 They light fires of spruce and bogulnik on both sides of the
372 boat and they try to build the fires so that the smoke hit the boat. The pilaŋ takes a branch of spruce or of bogulnik and, starting from the bow and going towards the stern, hits the outside and the inside of the boat as well as the rowlocks with the branches so as to elvlaf-pək-əzd --"lose bad places (evil)". Then the hunters push the boat past the fire into the sea and are off.

225 I watched Gilyak Xitkun who, having already returned from
502 a hunt, put out to sea with the hunters a second time. Five
554 hunters were at the oars. Propelled by strong and simultaneous strokes of five pair of oars the boat took lightly and quickly to sea. Xitkun, firmly gripping the rudder, set the bow of the boat northward, towards the cape barely visible in the distance. The Gilyaks rowed calmly and quietly. They need fear nothing. At the stern of their boat sits an exper-
777 ienced pilaŋ, tested in trips. At the bow are placed a representation of the sea bird ugŋ and the figunines ŧŋaj. They will vigilantly look out for and protect their course.

When the boat became a tiny spot in the distance and its outlines blended with the water, the women who saw off the hunters left the shore for home.

225 After leaving the village the hunters turn northward. They
823 first go to Uiγ-krə "sacred cape." (1) Once there, they pull
766
782

1. It seems that there are "tombstones" in memory of drowned men on the cape.

the boat out of the water. The pilaŋ picks up a scoop containing the usual refreshments called for by the occasion and

225 throws them into the sea. Each of the hunters has with him
823 similar gifts which the pilaŋ throws into the sea together
766 with his own gifts. If the hunters go past Uiŋ-krə, then they
782 throw their offerings into the sea from the first floe at which they stop. The Gilyaks believe that on every cape (krə) there lives a -ţik- an old woman. These old women must also be given something at the time of the sea voyage. It is believed that tvax--ţik, 'the old woman of the mouth of the river,' who lives in the mouth of the river Kul helps during the hunt.

225 [83] In the past the Gilyaks would go as far as T'uurf (Bay of Tugursk) during a seal hunt. They would sometimes spend the winter there and engage in fox hunting. The Gilyaks told me that their ancestors apparently did not go to kəvr-mif (Shantar Islands) (1) At present they do not go beyond

1. According to the account of Schrenk, the Gilyaks did not hunt on the Shanter Islands (On the natives of the Amur region), v. II, p. 288.

Lo ri. In former times the Gilyaks would put out to sea when the ice began to break. They would hunt at sea until the end of the summer and then they would return to the village to fish salmon. When the ice was gone and, consequently, seal hunting on floes ceased, they would hunt seals by means of tola-k'e, 'a heavy drag net.'

At present the Gilyaks put out to sea for short periods not exceeding one or two months. Thus, for instance, Norp put out to sea with the hunters on July 8 and returned from the hunt on August 2. In 1930 two boats of hunters hunted seals off cape Litke and stayed there for two months.

411 The Gilyaks of today also hunt by means of a drag-net,
225 tola-k'e. (2) Tola-k'e is made of heavy rope called locally
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2. Of the very old seal-hunting implements in the village Kul, a very large floating harpoon tla is completely out of use. It was made out of a few long sticks turned of the trunk of a larch. I got acquainted with its structure and I observed how it is being used in the village Chayvo. This harpoon is sometimes 18 ruchnykh sagenes long.

matauza. The rope is 45 ruchnykh (makhovykh) sagenes long. Each of the meshes is large enough for the head of a sivuch. Tola-k'e is set not far from the shore. The upper cord of the tola-k'e is called ŋəski 'back.' The shore-end of the net is

411 called ə́mləus and the sea-end is called ə́z-baχ-puks
225 'master's stone tie.' To this end, which is lowered into the
283 sea, is tied ə́z-bax 'master's stone' or 'master stone,' which, according to the Gilyaks, weighs two poods. This stone, the Gilyaks explained to me, forms the anchor of the seine. In place of plummets, stones are attached to the bottom of the seine. They are called tətr-paγ . Large wooden floats (vaŋ) are fastened to the upper cord of the seine. When the head of a sivuch gets caught in the net, the sivuch starts to flounder; at times so violently that it throws the lower edge of the seine together with the plummets over the upper cord and finds itself literally in a sack. Sometimes dolphins fall into the seine. The seals pəγi are shrewd and are seldom caught in the net.

In the past as well as at the present time the Gilyaks of the village Kul set the tola-k'e at Kívf-ŋalu, Ké-ŋalu, Vilk, Loŋri, and ə́t.

614 According to old man Virp, some clans in the village Kul
225 owned seal hunting places in the past.
423 Thus clan Qavjuŋ owned: 1. Lulvəχ-pər, 2. ŋaγqeǰ,
524 3. ə́t.
471 Lulvəχ-pər and ŋaγreqej are names of rocks sticking out of the water. Seals crawl out of the water onto these rocks. ə́t is a small island close to which there is another such rock(3)

> 3. In a fog the hunters come alongside of the shore or of the small island ə́t. Then the young hunters amuse themselves and play. There are onət two laqr-paχ stones for a game: "who can lift it and who cannot." Close to the rocks there is a flat place where the Gilyaks compete. The competition consists in jumping on one foot (teŋot ɬerd).

Clan Ṭnaunuŋ owned: 1. Maṭ-loŋri, 2. Tŋəri-γrə, 3. Zomivər.

The first two places form parts of the shore and are resting places for seals. The third is a rock.

Clan Kezoŋ owned the shore off Vilk, a resting place for seals and Hapzə- vər - a stone.

225 [84] Once at sea, the hunters take a number of measures
552 to ensure a successful hunt. Thus, in conversation, they
198 substitute prearranged names for the usual names of certain
825 objects. This prearranged language is an echo of a distant
789 past when hunters used it to keep their plans from animals

225 assumed to understand human speech. (1)
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198 825 789 1. For details see the paper of D. K. Zelenin-"Tabu slov u narodov Vostochnoĭ Evropy i severnoĭ Azii" [Taboos pertaining to Names as found among the Nations of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia]. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii v. VII; 1929. The work is interesting and contains an abundance of facts.

198 225 Thus, during the hunt instead of Vo, 'village', the hunters say hiulaf.

mif, 'Land', they say otχ 'excrements.' If they are far from land, they say tevl otχta, if near - knemla-otχta.

mu 'boat' they say orq.

ke 'sun' they say am.

la urd 'good weather' - literally 'good wind,' they say am sodra.

tᵊlu 'fog' they say verq.

umgu 'woman' they say hiulᵊd.

qan 'dog' they say aim.

to 'fish' they tomr 'leaf.'

loq 'flounder' they say pna-domr.

lo r 'trout' they say manm.

nemla 'linek' they say naχ-tomr.

va s 'lake-salmon' they say vᵊtik.

al o 'kunzha' they say doχti. (2)

177 2. The Gilyaks say that they borrowed the words manm and doχti from Tungus.

198 225 ti r 'fire wood' they say ops; tuin ops-ket tuχr-arguda 'having taken fire wood here, we will feed the fire.'

la r 'seal' they say vaad; mor-vaad 'two seals,' tor vaad 'three seals.'

la r pud 'the seal came to the surface' they say lᵊrŋ.

i d 'to kill' they say ŋazd.

pᵊt 'tomorrow' they say mandᵊa.

e r vida 'let us return' they say pᵊχtkuda.

saru-mu 'full boat' they say ulvᵊta-mu.

kᵊr-ŋoqod 'hungry,' 'I want to eat' they say tava-ᶜod 'tava hurts.'

krᵊzd '(I, you, etc.) have had my fill' they say mat-toqŋ-tarᵊgad 'the little finger sticks out (?) or tot-ᶜod 'the hand hurts.'

198 urla-dus 'good meat' they say amra-elvla-dus 'amra bad
225 meat.'

əkila-dus 'bad meat' they say amra-urla-dus 'amra good meat.'

etc.

225 Apart from taboos pertaining to names the hunters must
784 also observe other taboos during the hunt. Thus, for instance one must not pour water out of the boat onto floe where seals had been killed. Xitkun, who told me about it, said that he all but lost his sight as a result of pouring water out of the boat onto floe with killed seals on it.

It is forbidden to stick a knife in the ground during the hunt.

It is forbidden to spit in the blood of a seal, etc.

[85] Not only the hunters are supposed to observe a number of taboos; the same holds for those who remain home and, especially for women.

Thus, those who remain home must not do any laundrying in the house of the owner of the boat. They must not pass any objects to one another across the fire, for, in that case, the seal at the seine would swim through it.

They must not cut leather for shoes (kiʼid), otherwise the tola-ke might tear.

They must not cook hearts of seals until after the hunt.

A pregnant woman must not approach the sea shore, otherwise all ice might be carried off to sea and the hunters would not be able to hunt seals.

115 In this connection I quote from my Sakhalin diary one of my conversations with the Gilyaks. This conversation took place in the village Khoi on the western shore of Sakhalin (50 versts from the town of Aleksandrovsk on June fifth , 1928. I was sitting in Gilyak Roygin's yurt. Present were, besides Roygin and myself, the Gilyaks Kavzgun, Chulkin, Furaga and the late old man Pletunka, as well as one of my friends and the interpreter L. IA. Shternberg.

225 Roygin said: "When you go seal hunting in the spring you
825 know all that is going on at home. The seal will tell all. The
787 seal will not tell the good things, but he will invariably tell the
626 bad things that are going on at home. If, say, the woman at
784 home starts scratching her head , the seal on the floe will scratch his head with his paw. If they are fighting at home, the seals will start fighting. If the woman wash something at home and hang it out, the hunter is bound to miss the seal even it if were not more than five steps away from him. We say that all the hunter can do is hit the linen. Obviously, the 'god' kes

225 has hung something in front of the seal. The seals will also
825 tell of a theft in the village. If the wife at home has sexual
787 relations with another man while her husband is away on a
626 hunt, the seals on the floe will likewise engage in sexual inter-
784 course. When they witness some such thing at sea, some of our Gilyaks will, after returning home, beat up their wives and later on find out from neighbors in the village what had really happened. Now, suppose you cook seal meat, eat it and pick your teeth with a little stick, then the seal in the sea will show how you picked your teeth with the little stick.

During the spring seal-hunt on floes, when the Gilyaks jump from floe to floe close to shore and kill seals with harpoons, those at home must not break any objects - say, plates or bowls, for otherwise the floe will break and the hunter, say, the father, brother or son, may drown. Therefore those at home must be very careful.

On the day when something goes wrong at home, the hunter will not get his seal. Then he returns home angry and tries to find out what deprived him and his friends of their quarry.

776 Roygin told me all this in order to prove to me the existence
825 of k-s, 'god'; a point on which I did not want to agree with him.
225 "How can a seal, 20 versts from home, know what is going on at home?" he told me. "Surely kəs must be telling him about it. That is why we say that kəs exists."

225 Incidentally, after my conversation with Roygin, Pletunka
784 told me that the mrolv-ni-ɣv- 'ancient Gilyaks' observed the
574 following ui-nd "taboo," "sin" during a seal hunt: the guest must not touch the handle of a kettle or teapot. Only the master of the house (in the past as well as at the present time) could pour out tea or any other liquid food for the guest. If, even by mistake, the guest touched the handle of a kettle or teapot, he was obliged to tear a strip of material off his sleeve and put it in the (hearth). (1)

1. This word in my diary is illegible. As far as I can remember, Pletunka spoke of a hearth.

225 [86] During the spring hunt the Gilyaks of the village Kul
552 hunt different types of seals. They also catch an occasional
825 dolphin. They distinguish the following varieties and ages of seals: Pila-la-r 'Sivuch'

1. Nav-ŋa 'present-time animal', i. e. a sivuch born in the given year.

2. Tje-ŋa literally: 'last year's animal', i. e. a two year old sivuch or one born in the previous year.

225 3. Pila-laŋr 'sivuch', literally: 'a big seal.'
552
825 Pəγi

Among the seals of this kind the Gilyaks distinguish a few age groups: a seal belonging to a particular age group is named accordingly. For instance:

1. Qrʔər is the youngest of all pəγi.
2. Mat-ʔəskəl is the next to the youngest pəγi. For the time being this name is conditional. Its etymology can be given as follows: mat-ʔəski-k-ld; mat - 'smal,' ʔəski 'back,' kəld 'long,' little long-back.
3. Tje-ʔəsχəl last year's ʔəsχəl.
4. ʔat next in age to tje-ʔəsχəl.
5. Siusui-ʔa next in age to qat, i.e. the oldest pəγi.

Qoma.

1. Heqr-motk - the youngest qoma.
2. Ta a-ʔa - next in age to heqrmotk.
3. Arʔfk - next in age to taʔarʔa, i.e. the oldest qoma.

Alχ.

Here the Gilyaks distinguish the olvarak - multicolored al and dalr - grey Alχ.

225 The sivuch is considered by the Gilyaks to be the most
237 valuable of all seals listed above. The toughest straps, dog harness and shoes (vamps and soles; tops are made out of the skin of other varieties of seals) are made out of sivuch skin.

If the quarry is big, the hunters prefer to take with them the extra hides with the fat and the heads of the seals, leaving the meat on the ice. They separate the head together with two jugular vertebrae (maχt) and two upper ribs.

225 When the Gilyaks kill a seal or a dolphin at sea, they first
782 "feed" it the root of the plant piskər. (1) If not enough of this

1. In villages further South they feed the root of the plant "orŋoχt."

plant has grown, they feed the grass muzŋi. When setting out on a hunt, the Gilyaks take along with them a sufficient supply of these plants. Having killed a seal, they open its mouth and through it they put the root of this plant in the nasal cavity. Gilyaks put the stalk of the plant next to the seal on the ice and leave the seal there. They also leave pər 'gall' of the seal on the ice and next to it they put piskər.

225 After they have killed a sivuch, they wash its head and its
782 snout with water. During the washing they use a special scoop
'a- ain-du-muurs, literally, 'the animal face washing scoop,
i. e. the scoop used in washing the face of the animal.

The heads with pisker stuck in them are taken home.

225 After the first sivuch has been killed the pila performs
782 the ceremony of feeding the figurines traj. (Regardless of the
425 number of killed seals belonging to other varieties, this
778 ceremony is performed only after the killing of the first
sivuch.) The pila cuts the breast of the sivuch and smears
the mouth of the figurines with blood taken from the heart of
the sivuch. [87] The Gilyaks say that if one were to smear all
of the face of a figurine, the latter could not "see." After
the completion of this ceremony the sivuch is regarded as
belonging to the pila. However, as far as the distribution of
the quarry is concerned, this sivuch is regarded as being not
different from the other sivuchs. This will become apparent
from the facts given below. True - as I was informed by a
Gilyak - this holds only if few sivuchs have been killed. With-
out drawing final conclusions as to the possibility of the pila
asserting his title to an extra sivuch on top of his share of the
quarry - for this we do not have sufficient data - we wish to
emphasize at this junction two incontestable circumstances.
First - the pila appropriates the first sivuch killed during the
hunt; second - this appropriation is effected under the guise
of a religious ceremony.

784 This latter circumstance clarified for me the essence of a
225 number of taboos among the Gilyaks.
183 Thus, for instance, young hunters (as well as women) are
626 supposed to observe a number of taboos in connection with the
262 meat of a bear. At the same time old hunters need not observe
those taboos. This is not the place for the enumeration of the
tabooed parts of the animal which the young hunters (as well
as women) are not supposed to eat. We shall only point to the
explanations given by the Gilyaks concerning some of the in-
terdictions. Thus, for instance, the young hunter must not eat
the heart of a bear, otherwise he will sustain a heart affliction
as soon as he comes on a track of a bear. And one cannot go
hunting bears with a heart so afflicted. The young hunter must
not eat the tongue of a bear, otherwise the bear will beat him
to death during an encounter. "Therefore tongue old men only
can eat." These instances illustrate the manner in which the
Gilyaks rationalize their taboos.

It would be ridiculous to look for special meaning in all
these taboos and their explanations. The meaning of these taboos
and their interpretation is simple--the taboos serve to keep

784 from young hunters and women the fact that the old hunters
225 who play a leading part in the hunt appropriate the tastiest
183
626 parts of the quarry under the guise of religious interdictions.
262 Taboos regulate the relations between the old and young
784 hunters as well as the relations between the male and female
462 parts of the clan.

868 Thus, in the very same year of 1931, in the village Cʻarvaχ
183 (Charbakh), the old Gilyak Kozin and ə̄ʻisk (Agiska) informed
525 me of interesting taboos pertaining to a number of objects used by children in their games.

A boy must not play with a yoke or with a board used by women in cutting leather and cloth (tans-kəlmr). Also, a child must not play with a woman's cutting knife (tan-dago).

"When I was little Kozin told me, old men would not permit to put a yoke on a boy's shoulders. That was Uiṭ ('taboo,' 'sin'). If a boy hit the legs of another boy with a yoke or a cutting board, then when he grew up and went hunting in the taiga, he might not be able to walk well." Agiska told me that he will have no luck in hunting.

Agiska told me that a girl should not play with arrow, bow, or spear, for these implements will not bring luck (in local Russian - farta). If a woman or a girl were to step inadvertantly over a spear or arrow, the arrow will not go deep into the body of the bear and will not stick. That is why girls are not supposed to play with those implements.

These taboos indicate that already at an early age children are prepared for definite tasks; that boys must not - if only in play - have anything to do with implements used by women in their tasks and that, conversely, girls must not use implements used in their tasks by men. These taboos are seen to legitimize for both men and woman, virtually from the time of birth, the distribution of labor existing among the Gilyaks.

462 [88] The women of a clan perform the most onerous work which
514 from the point of view of men, is least respectable. Until recently it was the slaves who did this work for the Gilyak rich. The women must carry water, chop wood, feed the dogs, row (notwithstanding his wife's advanced stage of pregancy, the husband tends the rudder; the man is supposed to tend the rudder and the woman to row; the opposite would be disreputable and inadmissible for a Gilyak hunter), prepare food, make clothes, shoes and perform a number of other onerous tasks some of which are regarded as detrimental to the dignity of a hunter.

The males of a Gilyak clan are hunters, providers of food. They procure food for the whole clan. They procure fish, bear

462 and seals. They distribute the quarry. They play the leading
614 part in the economic, social and religious life of the clan
and in no one of these areas do they permit women to play
614 a part equal to their own. Women play a subordinate part in
562 the productive activity of the clan; they collect plants, roots
and berries. Woman cannot play any part in the social life of
the clan for they do not belong to the clan from the very time
they are born, and when they grow up they are given away,
in fact sold, by the hunters to some other clan. The clan that
takes the woman, i. e. the clan of the son-in-law (ore) become
dependent upon the clan of the father-in-law (apak). Also,
women play no part in the religious life of the clan.

527 Women are not permitted to be present during more im-
562 portant moments of the "bear holiday", for the bear hunt is
784 a matter for men-hunters and not for women. Not once in their
life are women permitted to eat the better cuts of bear meat.
They are only allowed to eat some meat of the poorer cuts.
Women must not be present at offerings to the spirits of the
woods and of the sea which help the hunters, for hunting is a
man's job. As mentioned above, a pregnant woman must not
come to the sea shore while the men are hunting seals, other-
wise the ice would disappear and the hunters would return
home empty handed, etc., etc.

784 The taboos mentioned above are a religious-magical super-
462 structure on the labor distribution according to sex. One
626 should look for explanations of these taboos in the relations
183 among different groups of people in primitive society rather
than in religion.

In legitimatizing this distribution of labor, the taboos turn the female part of the clan into slaves of the male part - the men-hunters.

Without further dwelling on these problems we merely indicate that there is no mystical element behind the taboos. The mystical content is often added in order to befuddle and to enslave people and to keep from them the essence of germinating exploitative relations among men. This is illustrated by the example of the t'aj where the pilaf attempt to assert his title to a sivuch is made covertly rather than openly, under the guise of a magical-religious ceremony.

However, we now revert to our topic.

225 Having killed a sufficient number of seals, the hunters,
422 loaded with their quarry, return to the village. On arrival
476 the pilaf distributes the quarry. At this point it becomes
apparent that the sivuch, which is the pilaf's legal property
and whose blood he used in feeding the t'aj, is included in

225 the division of the quarry. Why this ceremony should have
422 stopped at the pilaŋ appropriating the first sivuch rather
476 than asserting his full title to it on top of his share of the quarry is hard to tell. It seems to us that this can be explained by the essential preservation of the primitive Communist method of distribution of the quarry among the Gilyaks of the village Kul which do not permit a single individual to assert his title to an entire extra sivuch.

225 [89] I gave here a few examples which I have recorded
476 of the distribution of the quarry among the Gilyak hunters on their return home to the village Kul on August 2, 1931. These examples demonstrate clearly the primitive Communist character of the distribution.

The quarry of ʾəlχtun's collective consisted of 18 sivuchs 9 pəγi, 11 qoma and 1 alχ. They sold 3 sivuchs, 5 qoma and the fat of two seals on Cape Litke at the branch of the Rybaksoyuz [A, B Fisherman's Union]. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares. (1)

1. Unfortunately I did not write down how they distributed the money.

-l tun.....received 2 sivuchs 2 pəγi
Jotkun.....received 2 sivuchs 1 pəγi 1 qoma 1 strap (2)

281 2. The hide of a young sivuch nav-ŋa is cut into three pieces and that of an older one - into four. Out of each piece the Gilyaks cut one thin long strap which is immediately spread out to dry.

225	Nərp (a shot)...	received	1	sivuch	1	p i	1	qoma	3	straps
476	Rəntik.....	"	2	"	2	"	-	"	1	"
	Təvus.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	-	"
	Zabojko.....	"	2	"	1	"	2	"	1	" alχ
	Tuŋs.....	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	1	" strap
			13	sivuchs	9	pəγi	6	qoma	6	straps =
									= 2	sivuchs
									1	alχ
	On straps		2							
	Sold		5				5			
	Total.....		18	Sivuchs	9	pəγi	11	qoma	1	alχ

225 The quarry of Nitgin's collective consisted of 19 sivuchs,
476 and 8 qoma and 1 pəγi. They sold 3 sivuchs and 4 qoma on the cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal shares.

Nitgin.....	received	2 sivuchs	--		2 straps
Nlamin.....	received	2 "			1 strap
Kizgun.....	"	2 "	1 qoma		1 "
Verun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "
Ozgun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "
I nun.....	"	2 "	1 "		1 "
Izgun.....	"	2 "	1 pəγi		1 "

	14 sivuchs	4 qoma	and 8 straps
		1 pəγi	2 sivuchs
On straps....2			
Sold.....3		4	

Total.....19 sivuchs 8 qoma 1 pəγi

The quarry of Norp's collective consisted of 26 sivuchs, 1 pəγi and 12 qoma. They sold 8 sivuchs and 4 qoma on cape Lidtke. They distributed the money obtained and the remainder of the quarry into equal parts.

Norp.....	received	2 1/2	sivuchs	2	qoma	2	straps
Et.....	"	2 1/2	"	2	"	2	"
Potaq.....	"	2 1/2	"	1	"	2	"
Otaq.....	"	2 1/2	"	1	"	2	"
Tesq.....	"	2 1/2	"	1	"	2	"
Onkan.....	"	2 1/2	"	1	"	2	" and 1 pəγi

	15 sivuchs	8 qoma	12 straps
			3 sivuchs
On straps....3			
Sold.....8		4	

Total.....26 Sivuchs 12 qoma 1 pəγi

[90] The fact that Norp received an extra qoma does not prove that he received more than the other hunters. The qoma is not a valuable seal and it is really of no account whether one does or does not get an extra qoma. What is important is the

225 distribution of the sivuchs. The number of sivuchs he re-
476 ceived was the same as that received by the others. If at all it is Nitgin who received a tiny bit more than the others; he received one extra strap but did not get a qoma and so he
225 really got no more than the others. My report of my obser-
476 vation in the year 1931 of the primitive Communist method of
461 the distribution of the quarry in the village Kul can be appropriately concluded with the following passage from L. IA. Shternberg's work "Sakhalinskiie Giliaki" (The Sakhaline Gilyaks), mentioned by F. Engels and published in "Etnograficheskoie Obozreniie" in 1893, i.e. 40 years ago. "During the common hunt, for instance, during a seal or dolphin hunt, when a group of Gilyaks banded together for this purpose set out in a single boat, the quarry is shared equally by the participants. The owner of the boat receives a share equal to that of the young man sitting na grebkakh. The skill of the maker of spears and arrows is not specially rewarded. Moreover, during a long expedition, i.e. from Amur to the South of Sakhalin, it is not the owner of the boat who receives more than his share of the quarry, but rather the man who, on the voyage, performs the bothersome duties connected with the preparation of food and the collection of firewood." Apparently, it is for this kind of work that old man Onkan received not only a participant's share but an extra p- i.

476 I find it necessary to give one more example of the
225 distribution of the quarry in the collective of Xitkun, for in it we come across an entirely new phenomenon.

The quarry of Xitkun's collective consisted of 14 sivuchs. They cut the hides of two sivuchs on straps. They cut the hide of the youngest sivuch nav-ŋa into three straps, and the hide of the tje-ŋa into four straps. There were seven straps in all. There remained 12 sivuchs. Of the remaining sivuchs Xitkun gave one and a half sivuch to each of the seven members of the collective. This made a total of ten and a half sivuchs. The fat of the remaining one and a half sivuch was divided (unfortunately, I did not find out how) and as for the hides, the hunters decided to let them dry and then make ki (vamps and soles for shoes) of them. Including Xitkun there were six men in the boat and they divided the quarry into seven parts. It turned out that the seventh share was mu-ar, the share of the boat (or as the Gilyaks say pay), that is, what they were supposed to pay to the Gilyak Arban from whom they rented the boat for the hunt. Xitkun and the other hunters

476 were forced to take the boat from him for not one of them had
225 a boat suitable for sea voyages.

In the previous examples of the distribution of the quarry
427 we saw that the share of the owner of the boat who also
476 happened to the pilar was precisely the same as that of the
225 other hunters and that he was not specially rewarded for supplying the boat and for his work in connection with organizing and leading the collective.

The last quoted example illustrates the exploitation that arises out of ownership of the tools of labor. The Exploitation is effected under the guise of the particular form of leasing tools. Here the owner of the boat does not participate in the hunt. He rents the boat to others and still gets a share of the quarry which he would get had he participated in the hunt.

471 Going from Kul - which is at the present time the northern-
225 most Gilyak village on the continent - in the direction of the
476 town of Nikolayevsk -na -Amur, until recently the center of
427 capitalist influence on the Gilyaks, we note an interesting
178 phenomenon. In the villages located in the proximity of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur and, consequently, exposed most pronouncedly to its influence, the owner of the boat until recently claimed two shares: one - as a participant in the hunt and the other - as owner of the boat. This represents another forward step in the development [91] of the exploitative relations whose rise we noted in the fishing industry of the Gilyaks of the village Kul. On top of that, the owner of the boat claims shares for his wife and children who take no part whatever in the hunt.

226 The tendency to claim for oneself extra shares of the quarry
439 can be explained by the fact that some time after the founding
177 of the town of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur the commercial value of
427 fish increased. The lower reaches of Amur, one of the world's
476 richest Siberian salmon areas, attracted many people from the fishing industry as well as merchants, who brought up Siberian salmon from the Gilyaks. The Gilyaks of the lower reaches of the Amur, who formerly traded with the Chinese and Japanese began selling Siberian salmon to the Russians; an item of no importance in their trade with the Chinese and Japanese. Owners of zayezdki and seins turned into entrepreneurs supplying whole-sale fish-dealers, Luri, Viderman and others. They began to increase zayezdki and to hire labor from among Russians, Koreans and, especially, Gilyaks who come to them from Sakhalin and from the villages located North of Nikolayevsk-na-Amur. "With a zayezdok as a source of income, the Gilyak turned into a rentier who was always idle and drunk throughout the summer, "says the ardent colonizer

226 and proponent of a policy of oppression of "foreigners,"
439 N. V. Slyunin. (1) It is of interest to note that the new
177
427 1 N. V. Slîunîn, Sovremennoîe polozhenīe nashevo
476 Dal'nevo Vostoika [The present conditions in our Far East], p. 96, 1908, SPb.

471 exploitative relations evolved among the Gilyaks on the basis
427 of ownership of the tools of labor did not produce new forms
476 of distribution. Distribution persisted, as of old, in the form
226 of the hunter's ancient way of dividing the quarry into shares.
177 It was only new claimants of shares who appeared. A new content was given to the old form. The owner of the tools of labor, striving to receive a greater part of the quarry, began to claim shares for members of his family who did not participate at all in the process of production such as wives and children. (2) He would also claim shares for the renting

2. I was told of cases where, on the island of Langer the owner of the seine sometimes included into the artel his young son who was capable only of performing minor tasks. Still, the father would obtain a full share, locally pay, of the quarry for him.

of the tools of labor such as the boat and the seine and even for the use of the bench in the boat (mləṭ) and of the stick over the door of the house (ɤɣəmr-ṭis).

We give here illustrations of the above.

225 According to the Gilyak Cargun (?) now living in the village
471 Cɣarvaɣ (Charbakh), back in 1917 or 1918 he and three other
427 Gilyaks from the village Kal'ma as well as fourth one from the village Ṭəlmə went to the lower reaches of the Amur and worked there during the run of Siberian salmon on the island Langer for the Gilyak Armən who was an inhabitant of the island. I often saw Armən in 1931. Armən's brother worked with him. In all there were seven men working. When the fishing season was over, Armən divided the quarry. He and his brother got six shares, while the remaining Gilyaks received five shares, one share per man. The six shares obtained by Armən were accounted for as follows: one share for Armən, one share for his brother, one share for the use of the boat, one share for the use of the seine, and finally, one share each for his wife and his old mother, neither of whom took part in the fishing.. The Gilyak workers got no shares

225 for their families.
471 I observed analogous facts on the very same island in
427 1927 and in 1931.

In the village Vaz-vo (cape Vasin) from which the Gilyaks were driven out in 1914 or 1915, the system of exploitation on the basis of ownership of the instruments of labor was, it seems, even more cruel. According to the expert on Gilyak life, the inquisitive Gilyak ə̄ŕisk, an owner of a zayesdok claimed one share for himself, one share for the boat, one share for the plank-bench in the boat (mlə̄t) and one share for the ŕɣəmr-t̄is - the shelf over the door in the entrance-hall. I failed to find the reason for the claim to an extra share in connection with the ŋ̄əmr-t̄is. I am inclined to think that no such reason exists and that ŋ̄əmr-t̄is is used by the owner of the tools of labor [92] solely as a pretext for getting an extra share for himself.

The Gilyak Miskin, inhabitant of the village Puir, told me of an incident that sounds like an anecdote. The incident took place in that village in 1931. An old Gilyak, called for one reason or another Tetkin, asked the young Gilyaks Pnadainu, Lakhtaku and Kondinu (?) to come with him to hunt (AB: fish?) kaluga. On return Tetkin took for himself four shares: one for himself, one, for some other obscure reasons, for some Russian acquaintance of his in the village Makarevka, one for a daughter in the village Langer and one for a daughter in the village Charbakh. As for his companions, he gave a single share to each. I later talked about this incident the Pnadainu. Pnadainu confirmed Miskin's story and further clarified it. Unfortunately, I wrote down Pnadainu's information on a separate piece of paper and, it seems, lost it.

My lengthy discussion is meant as a very general introduction to this problem. It is meant to show how, among the Gilyaks, the owner of the tools of work, as still found in the village Kul, could under the influence of Russian capitalism turn into a kulak-exploiter. This discussion is also meant to show how he utilized the old forms of the distribution of the quarry into shares for the purposes of exploitation. This interesting process deserves careful study.

281 After the distribution of the quarry the hunters and their
462 wives at once start to work. There is a lot of work to do. The suet has to be separated from the hides. The hides have to be stretched on special frames used in drying seal hides. Some hides have to be cut into straps and those have to be stretched to dry, for one cannot make dry hides into straps

281 (the work of stretching the hides on frames and of cutting
462 straps is performed by men). Finally, the heads have to be cooked and prepared for throwing out into the sea.

281 I watched the two wives of Xitkun work after he returned from the hunt. The younger of the two was busy peeling suet from hides. In this she was helped by a woman, the wife of one of Xitkun's kinsmen. The job of peeling suet from hides is very hard. Most of the time the woman has to work in a bent position. I saw Xitkun's wife lift a hide in the process of cleaning it of suet by seizing a part of the cleaned hide with her mouth. At the same time she held the peeled suet with her left hand and continued the peeling process using a large narrow and somewhat curved knife which she held with her right hand.

237 The Gilyaks prepare thin seal fat in the following manner.
415 They cut the suet (ŋɔ́ɣ) into pieces. They put the pieces into
251 a barrel (in the past they used to put them into a large, deep trough) which they then place in a warm spot. There the suet begins to decompose and to melt (I am not in a position to give a more detailed account of the process which takes place in the suet). This yellow fat (tom) flows out of the suet. Depending on the age and variety of the seal the fat is either light or dark and turbid. The Gilyaks pour the melted fat into dried seal stomachs. They give the leavings of the melted suet (taɣ) to the dogs. Stomachs of seals are used by the Gilyaks for storing seal fat. Having killed a seal the Gilyaks empty out its stomach, blow air into it and hang it up to dry. The fat can be stored for a long time in such a bladder. Once the bladder is filled with fat, it is hung in the barn.

888 While one of Xitkun's wives was busy peeling suet from
252 hide, the other wife, Hemanχ, 'old woman,' was preparing the heads for cooking. It was certainly no accident that it was Hemanχ, Xitkun's older wife, who was preparing the heads for cooking. Preparing of the heads requires a certain knowledge of religious ceremonies the guardians of which are the old people.

193 [93] À propos the interpretation of the words hemanχ
197 old woman' and hemar 'old man'. Both words have in common the sound combination hem and differ in their respective endings ar and anχ. Ar means in the Gilyak language male and anχ - female. What then is hem? In the village Chayvo where a certain form of the Sakhalin dialect is spoken, they call an old man hajmŋar. In comparison with the Amur dialect the Sakhalin dialect has retained a great many ancient forms. The etymology of the word hajmŋar can be easily

193 explained. In the same dialect there exists a word ja-jmnd
197 'to know' (to this word there corresponds in the Amur dialect the word jəjmd). In the direct object, which according to the rules of the Gilyak language merges with the predicate, the letter j alternates with c h. Thus for instance "I know Mizgun" sounds in Gilyak Ni Mizgun-hajmnd. In this way the verb jajmnd gives rise to the second form of the stem - hajmnd which exists independently of the first as a distinct word (just as the intransitive form of the transitive verb jajmnd 'to know') meaning 'to get old'. Hajmnd means 'to get old'. (In the Gilyak language intransitive verbs are formed out of transitive verbs by alternating the first consonant of the stem of the transitive verb.) In the Gilyak language "to know" and to "get old" derive their origin from the same stem and this is understandable for in the case of primitive man knowledge came with experience and so with age. We have thus explained the origin of hajm in the word hajm ar: hajm is derived from the intransitive form of the stem which, in this form, means 'to get old.' ŋ is the suffix which transforms verbs into nouns. We already know the meaning of ar. Thus the word hajmŋar means 'the knowing male' or 'old male.' The Amur hem is, of course, the same as hajm-ŋ in the Sakhalin dialect which change considerably in the Amur dialect. The disappearance of ŋ in it is understandable for the Amur dialect drops its final ŋ's as against the Sakhalin dialect which does not. For instance, 'horse' is murŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and mur in the Amur dialect, 'dog' is qanŋ in the Sakhalin dialect and qan in the Amur dialect. At present we find it difficult to explain why hajm became hem in the Amur dialect, contrary to the rules which would lead us to expect həjm as the counterpart of hajm; thus, həjmr instead of hemar. At any rate it is incontestable that hemar and hajmŋar have the same meaning and, accordingly, hemanχ means a 'knowing female' or and 'old female.' It is possible that at one time or another the Gilyaks meant by ar not only male but also man. This is quite probable for at present they use two words for man: azmət in the Sakhalin dialect and utku in the Amur dialect.

252 Hemanχ sat in squatting position at the trough containing
237 the heads of the sivuchs. The skin was taken off the heads of the sivuch right down to the level of the eyes. The skin on the snouts was untouched. First the old woman cut out the throat together with the tongue. Then she took out of the heqr kuti (?) the plant piskər placed there by the hunters. Then she pulled out the whiskers and put them in a separate cup. After

252 cutting in half the skin on the snout of the sivuch, she peeled
237 it off. The skin peeled off the snout is hung over the door where it stays until, as the Gilyaks say, it is "lost". After taking out the eyes, the old woman cut them and poured their content into the cup containing the whiskers. Then she turned the eyes inside out and cut out first the lens and then the pupil Afterwards, she cut off the noz-ŋək and put it in a separate cup since it is eaten in raw form.

This done, she cut the meat covering the skull. If the skull was broken by the striker, she picked the bone splinters, sucked them one by one and put them in a separate vessel. Subsequently, the splinters together with the heads are thrown into the sea.

262 [94] If the skull was whole the old woman broke it with a
784 stone. I asked the old woman why she would use a stone rather
412 than an axe to break the skull; to which she replied that it is
252 a sin to use an axe just as it is a sin to cook the brain, for it has to be eaten raw. Brains are not the only items consumed by the Gilyaks in raw form, others are: the back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and the noz-ŋək.

411 To watch the old woman break the heads of the sivuch with
177 a stone, sink her fingers in each bloody brain and draw it into
252 her mouth with a sob-like sound, I felt returned for a second to the stone-age by time machine. In fact, if we disregard guns recently acquired by the Gilyaks, and iron which they also recently learned to work into the knives using Japanese kettles as the starting material, spear tips, arrows and harpoons, we are back to the stone tip on the harpoon shaft and on the arrow, the stone axe, which is still remembered in their language (1) and we find no Japanese iron kettle. It

1. Cf. our paper - "Gilîatskîe chîslîtel'nyîe" ("Gilyak Numerals"), Published by Nauchno-issledovatel'skuî Assotsiatsii Instituta Narodov Severa TSIK SSSR, p. 10, 1932.

then becomes clear to us why the old woman uses a stone in breaking the head to get at the brains and why the Gilyaks eat the brains as well as the meat taken from the animal's back, the heart, the intestines, the kidneys, the wind pipe and other parts of the animal - raw. It is then that we see all of the Gilyak mode of life in an entirely different light.

252 Having taken out the brain and having put it in a separate trough, the old woman separated the lower jaw, tied the plant piskər around its middle and put it in the kettle to cook.

252 Then she pressed tubers of dry sarana into the openings for the eyes and nose of the sivuch and put the head into the kettle.

263 When the heads were cooked, Xitkun, his son and other
177 hunters started to eat. They were served meat on flat
258 wooden dishes. At the same time they were given a small
314 bottle with salt and a tiny cup containing finely cut cheremsha While one may eat cooked meat with salt, one must not cook meat or fish with salt. In former times the Gilyaks had no salt. They learned the use of salt from the Chinese. In 1926 I was told in the village Chayvo that the ancient Gilyaks used a solution of ashes instead of salt. I was told the same thing in 1931, in the village Kul. According to my informants the ancient Gilyaks burned boughs and stems of trees thrown up by the sea. They dissolved the ashes of those trees, saturated with the salts contained in the sea, in water taken from a well or river. When the ashes settled at the bottom there remained, as the Gilyaks of Chayvo put it, "water as clear as alcohol." It is this water which they used instead of salt. I brought from the village Kul to the Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii a wooden plate of the an-
415 cient Gilyaks, black with age. This plate, which was sold
263 to me by old man Tujun, was specially made for seal meat. In the sides of this "plate" were carved two tiny cups which as Tujun informed me, would be filled with salt water for dipping pieces of meat in it.

462 On the following day, after the meat was taken off the
782 heads, the Gilyaks prepared them for throwing in the sea.
225 The heads are dumped in the sea by women and not by men-hunters. As we shall see, it is also the women who bring pay to the fire. Xitkun prepared tiny white, thin shavings of qosk-ŋaks 'rowan.' These shavings are called iugrusps. He handed the shavings to his wife Hemany. The old woman stuck the shavings in the nasal openings in the heads of the two sivuchs and smeared them with cowberry juice. Then she tied the lower jaws to the heads of the sivuchs using stalks of burdock-pəs. In a row with the skulls lay jugular vertebrae (mart) and bone splinters from the broken skulls. The heads were placed on a board. The other wife of Xitkun took the board with the heads and the mug containing the eyes and went towards the sea. I followed her. Standing at [95] the very edge of the water she threw the heads of the sivuch into the sea as far away from the shore as possible. next she threw the contents of the mug into the sea as far as possible and then she threw into the sea the skull

462 fragments. Finally she threw into the water grass muzɲisŋar.
782 Soon the sea closed quietly over the remains of the sivuch
225 thrown into it.

Now Xitkun's wife bent and picked up as many pebbles as
372 there were sivuch heads. At home she threw them into the
782 fireplace. These pebbles are called uskis 'pay' (j-uski-d
225 'to pay,' s - suffix of the implement of action).
77[illegible] There arises the question why this pebble is called pay and why the Gilyaks pay for the hunt to the master of fire?

Of some help in answering this question may be the following opinion of the Gilyaks of which I was told on Sakhalin in 1927 by the Gilyak Murmur of the village Chayvo. Murmur informed me that while the hunter is still asleep the master of the fire hunts seals for him. If the master of the fire fails to kill a single seal, then the hunter will fare no better. "We sleep, fire first kill seal. Fire seal not kill, we also not kill."

The ceremony of throwing the heads into the sea concludes the seal hunt.

Supplement

115 A seal hunt. (1)
225

1. This is a translation from the Gilyak language. The text was taken down in the village Hiski, 40 versts from Kul, on July 10, 1931, and was told by old man Jajpan.

225 In the spring we came to a summer village, we were suffering hunger, we caught only fish, catching bullheads on hooks, only ate. Then the sea ice moved. The pilaŋ said: "Let's hunt seals. How many will go? Six gathered to go. "Women make mos, make muvi." Then we slept. In the morning we got up and ate. "Prepare your things, harpoon tips, harpoon shafts, oars, small benches, and put everything in the boat." Then we brought out things to the boat and put them down. All got down into (entered) the boat. Then we pushed off the shore. Five rowed. Then, rowing, we got to sea. After we got to sea, we came alongside the shore. When we came alongside the shore, we pulled out the boat and lighted a fire. The fellows said: "Big man (2) make

2. I. e. pilaŋ

tŋaj." The big man made tŋaj. He made two tŋaj; one was at

225 the bow and one was at the stern. Then we went down, pushed the boat off and went. "Row, ice is there. Use more strength, we shall go more quickly." We came to the ice, we pulled the boat out onto the ice. "Throw into the sea." After throwing (the offerings) into the sea, we stalked the seals. Then one comrade, carrying a gun, went towards the seal, stalking the seal. He went stalking the seal, he fired, killed it. "Fellows, go to your comrade, bring the seal." Four went. We dragged a big seal (sivuch). We hauled it to the boat. "Skin the seal. After skinning the seal, we shall cook and eat." We skinned it, then: "Go quickly, a seal is there again. Many seals, go quickly." Three went together, going towards the seal they stalked it, they shot, the shot another one, they killed two. The pilaŋ said: "Those in the boat, go to your comrades." Two more went to their comrades. Only the pilaŋ was in the boat. Then dragging we hauled a seal. Three dragged one, two dragged another. "Haul it to the boat." We hauled it to the boat. The pilaŋ said: "skin it." We skinned it next. "It is already dark. We shall cook meat and eat. We shall cook meat, eat and go to sleep." It got dark. "Let us sleep." [96] We slept and got up in the morning. When we got up in
225 the morning it was dark, a fog. The pilaŋ: "It is dark. How
178 shall we go. We won't go. We shall wait on the ice. We shall
502 dip the companion (1) we shall see if we go soon or not.

1. ḥafq-vax 'companion stone' or 'companionable stone.' In olden times the Gilyaks used to take along to sea a small stone with a string tied around it. Using this stone the Gilyaks measured the depth of the sea, determining in this way the distance from the shore. Sometimes they take a stone of this type along with them even today.

We shall dip the big companion and we shall see." When we dipped our companion: "We won't go soon. We will wait till dawn." When we were staying it was dark. Then it dawned a
225 bit. Then the pilaŋ: "When it dawns we will go." We lighted a fire, put up the kettle and ate. We ate and when we finished the mountain could be seen. "When it is quite light we will go. It dawned, the whole mountain could be seen. "It is far. That is bad. We will go toward the land." We went. While we were travelling it got dark, we kept on going during the night. While we were travelling at night, it began to dawn. When it dawned the land was near. "We shall travel toward the land." We went. We put in to shore, pulled out the boat. "We will eat."

225 We were almost falling asleep; it is bad: we did not sleep one night. The pila) said: "Well, fellows: It is hard. We'll sleep here." Then we slept. Then we got up. We killed few seals. "Fellows, shall we go back and hunt seals again." The fellows: "We'll hunt seals again." Again we went to the ice fields. We got there. As we got there, we saw seals. We sneaked up in the boat (literally: using the boat only). One at the bow did the shooting. Another was next to him. Both were shooting and killing. We went and kept on shooting, killing. Then we went again and kept on shooting, killing. The boat was almost full. We already killed fifteen sivuch. The boat was full. "Now we'll go toward shore." While we were travelling it got dark. We travelled during the night. When it dawned we reached the shore. We lighted a fire, ate. "Fellows, we'll eat and return home." We went. After a long trip we got to the mouth of the river. From there we went to the village. All the women got (to the shore). The children came. The women: "Our comrades got seals. Fine. Nice." The men dragged out the seals. We dragged them all ashore. We pulled the boat and lifted it (ashore). We divided the seals. We made six shares. The pila) made the shares. After that: "Take your shares." We dragged them away. Then the woman cooked the heads. Then we ate. The women skinned the seal. Then they put them in the kettle. The men stretched the skins and dried them.